15: U.S. Navy --27 [4] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 592, 562, 304, 464

"As in China, the older women who have sons are allowed to wield great influence within the home. Unmarried women and girls have few rights. Footbinding has been forbidden by the Japanese. There has been no attempt to limit female and child labor under even the most extreme conditions."

15: U.S. Navy--29 [7] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 181, 178, 584, 562

"The general atmosphere of life on Taiwan has been always somewhat less conservative than on the Chinese mainland. Indeed, there are many evidences of the pioneer spirit at work. A girl still has very little to say concerning the choice of a husband, and the parents or eldest relatives on both sides actually carry out the negotiations leading to marriage. Still there is much less of the prenuptial seclusion of women in Taiwan. Marriages are frequently arranged after a young couple has had an opportunity to see one another in public (but not alone)."

596 no uncle, the mother, although this happened rarely, assumed authority. Household management, as well as external business affairs, was the responsibility of the male head.

596 The position of women was subservient;
562 women had few property rights, and they themselves were the property of men. Confucian principles taught that woman's world was in the home, that a virtuous woman would obey her father before marriage, her husband after marriage, and her son after the death of her husband. Daughters at home were temporary members of the family who would someday marry and join their husbands' households. When a family estate was divided, all property was distributed among the males. Wives and daughters were their husbands' and fathers' heirs only in those cases where there were no males to inherit. Instances of women dominating men were not unheard of, but always at the sacrifice of the man's self-respect and as a subject of ridicule. As a daughter-in-law, a girl had to please her husband's parents, her husband being subordinate to his father in the family. A husband, out of filial piety, had to side with his mother if she happened to be harsh in her treatment of his wife.

584 Marriages were arranged by the parents.
596 Happiness of the couple was not a consideration,

45:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD1 Formosa
~~AD1~~ AD1

596 Rural households retain many of the
369 features of the traditional family. They are often made up of three or four generations with a goodly sprinkling of kinsmen, adopted children, and others. However, among the one hundred households which were the subjects of a survey conducted by the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, 58 were termed nuclear families and included 48 per cent of the total population surveyed. The other 42 households were three- and four-generation households, and included the remaining 52 per cent.[10]

• 562 The influence of the West has greatly
178 improved the position of women in Formosan society. Women today have equal elective franchise and the right of inheritance. They have not only become clerks and manual workers but also have entered the professions and have taken a role in politics. The Chinese Constitution stipulates that the number of women delegates to the National Assembly, as well as the number of women members of the Legislative and Control Yuan, shall be determined by law. The Electoral Law fixes the percentage at ten, and at present there are 60 women of a total

10. A. F. Raper, Rural Taiwan - Problem and Promise, Taipei, Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, 1953, p. 208.

562 537 members in the Lesiglative Yuan.[11] The percentage of women delegates is also applied to the provincial and local councils. In Taipei alone, there are about one hundred full-fledged women doctors and a great number of qualified mid-wives, five chartered women accountants, thirteen women judges, and six women prosecutors.[12]

IV. FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND DISORGANIZATION

58 Monogamous marriage is the rule in Formosa, although concubines and mistresses have not been eliminated. People of the same surname do not intermarry. Marriage remains a family affair as well as an affair of the parties concerned. When a son reaches adulthood it is a traditional obligation of the parents to see that he is married. Parents in most cases choose spouses for their children. But today the majority of men and women at least have some knowledge of their future spouses before marriage. It is stipulated by law that an

11. Chung-pei Hsu, The Position of Women in Free China, Taipei, China Culture Publishing Foundation, 1953, p. 2.
12. Ibid.

596 Marital customs among the tribesmen seem to indicate that their groupings include both nuclear and extended families. Bunun, Paiwan, and Yami tribes have nuclear families, and each son after marriage establishes his own household.

Aboriginal families are patriarchal, with the exception of those of the Paiwan and Ami tribes. The latter families are perpetuated through the female line; a man marries into the bride's family in both tribes and the newlyweds establish separate households after marriage.

• 562 428 The position of women in Ami and Paiwan tribes is superior to that of the men. Men have no rights of inheritance and have no say in the management of property in these tribes, although they represent their families at public meetings and in other social contacts. Women are sole heads of the family in matters which concern the family and its relatives. In other tribes, an inheritance is equally divided among the sons or goes to the eldest son who is the heir. When there are no sons in the family in the Bunun tribe, the family line is terminated, and the family property is given to the closest male relative. An interesting aspect of inheritance in the Ami tribe is that the youngest daughter remains at home to inherit the family property as well as to perpetuate the family line.

63/635 under a commissioner or a director. The provincial legislature, called the Provisional Provincial Assembly, is the representative body of the people.[5] In 1951 its members were elected by the hsien and municipality assemblies. In 1953 the law was altered to permit direct election by the people.[6] The present assembly, composed of 57 members, was elected by popular vote in April-May 1954. A hsien or municipality with a population of 150,000 or less is entitled to elect one member to the assembly. If it has a population exceeding 150,000, it is entitled to elect one additional member for each additional 150,000. If the remaining population exceeds 75,000, the hsien or municipality may elect another additional member. When a hsien or a municipality elects four or more representatives, one of the members must be a woman. In the present assembly there are six woman members. The autochthonous tribes living on the plains elect one representative, those living in the mountains elect two representatives. The tenure of office of the present assembly is three years.[7]

[562]

5. So called because the provincial government is under the direct control of the central government, and the provincial council does not exercise full power.

6. Regulations governing the organization of the Provisional Provincial Assembly, promulgated by the Executive Yuan on August 22, 1953.

7. The tenure of the First Provincial Assembly, elected in 1951, was two years.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

TABLE 52.

"OUTSIDERS" IN TAIWANESE HOUSEHOLDS, 1920

Per Cent of All Members Who Were Not Relatives of the Head, by Sex, and by Occupation of Head.
(Heads of Households Are Included, Persons Living Alone Excluded)

	Males	*Females*
A. Households of All Types		
All Households	2.6	0.9
Households with Head Occupied	2.7	0.8
Households with Head Not Occupied	2.5	1.1
Head Occupied in Agriculture	1.8	0.5
Head Occupied Outside Agriculture	4.8	1.7
Manufacturing	7.4	2.2
Commerce	7.3	2.7
Other	2.1	1.1
B. Mixed Households		
All Households	26.8	10.3
Households with Head Occupied	27.0	10.0
Households with Head Not Occupied	25.2	12.3
Head Occupied in Agriculture	21.0	6.2
Head Occupied Outside Agriculture	37.1	18.1
Manufacturing	40.5	17.4
Commerce	36.0	17.3
Other	34.2	20.4

Source: From *Census of 1920, Detailed Tables*, Table 36.

not family members, whereas outsiders usually were at least twice as frequent among the men.

Participation by Women in Household Roles

The Chinese are notable in not allotting to women a status of any particular prominence or responsibility in the society at large. As a result, their participation in non-familial activities is very restricted, and the evidence of previous chapters has not often shown them to be engaged in affairs outside of their family groups. Since they are not found anywhere else, it is of some interest to discover what is possible about the position of women in the household.

Significantly, in the households of various types shown here, women were distributed almost everywhere in about the same pro-

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

TABLE 53

PROPORTIONS OF FEMALES IN TAIWANESE HOUSEHOLDS, 1920
By Type of Household and Occupation of Head

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	Households of All Types	*Purely Family Households*	*Mixed Households*
A. Per Cent Female: Family Members*			
All Households	49.6	49.6	50.1
Households with Head Occupied	49.0	49.0	49.3
Households with Head Not Occupied	54.7	54.6	56.4
Head Occupied in Agriculture†	49.0	48.9	50.2
Head Occupied Outside Agriculture	49.1	49.3	47.3
a. Manufacturing	50.0	50.4	46.9
b. Commerce	49.4	49.6	47.9
c. Other	48.5	48.6	46.6
B. Per Cent Female: Head of Household			
All Households	11.2	11.3	10.6
Households with Head Occupied	7.1	7.2	6.5
Households with Head Not Occupied	45.1	45.1	45.7
Head Occupied in Agriculture†	7.4	7.3	7.3
Head Occupied Outside Agriculture	6.4	6.5	5.5
a. Manufacturing	12.8	13.5	7.5
b. Commerce	3.8	3.7	4.3
c. Other	4.6	4.6	4.8

* The head of the household is included as a family member.
† Includes Forestry.
Source: From *Census of 1920, Detailed Tables*, Table 38.

portion to men (see Table 53). Slightly less than half of the membership of most households was female, and it made almost no difference what was the family's source of support.[14] Despite the association between sex composition and household size found in Table 48, the degree of subordination of women apparently did not vary as between any of the principal lines of employment—women did not gain their positions in Taiwanese households through independent achievement, but chiefly through their attachment to men.

[14] The proportions of *all* household residents who were women is not shown in Table 55. Since women were nearly all members of the family, their percentages among *family* members is practically the same thing, except in mixed households.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

592 562 This uniformity was due in large measure to the fact that almost all women were members of their households by virtue of kinship, and hardly any of them stayed as non-relatives in the families of others. True, slightly over 20 per cent of all persons who were counted as outsiders were women; but this still did not amount to a large *number*, and it has already been pointed out that many must have been wives or children of men in this status.

Though on the average they were found in nearly equal numbers with men, there is no chance that women occupied the same positions in their families. Chinese ideas of propriety in behavior are never more consistent than in creating a distinction in familial roles based on a person's sex. The patriarchal ideal of authority in Taiwanese families is illustrated by the infrequency with which women became heads of households. Among those of the household heads who were employed (that is, practically all of them), men exceeded women by nine to one; in all but seven per cent of these households it was reported that the affairs were managed by men. In the minority of families where the head was not employed, this responsibility fell almost as often on women as on men—45 per cent of these households were managed by women. The only way for most women to accede to this position was through the death of their husbands. Therefore the concentration of female heads of households among the households with no apparent source of family support most likely represents those widows who were not taken in by their husbands' relatives.

Family Membership and Employment

592 464 Questions of livelihood, which are important to all peoples, are treated with a particular seriousness by Chinese. They are usually regarded as questions of household management, and thereby become closely interlocked with the ideas and values of the family system itself. When this happens, a large part of a society's economic life is likely to be sealed up in self-sufficient family units, and to lack the aspect of inter-dependence that characterizes the activities of individuals in the industrial regions of the world.

The households of Taiwan were the scene of most of the effort that went into providing support for the population, and hence are the most appropriate place to look for traces of its organization. A good indication of the contribution to household support in different classes of households is given by the extent of regular work by